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X.—*On the Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*¹

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IN *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, 2, 95, the schoolmaster Holofernes quotes the Latin words “Fauste, precor, gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra Ruminat,—and so forth,” and then exclaims: “Ah, good old Mantuan! I may speak of thee as the traveller doth of Venice;

Venetia, Venetia,
Chi non ti vede non ti pretia.

Old Mantuan, old Mantuan! who understandeth thee not, loves thee not.” Here the modern reader is apt to think of the *Eclogues* of Virgil; but the reference is to another and much later poet who was likewise a native of Mantua, and likewise the author of ten Latin eclogues. This was Baptista Spagnolo, or, as he was commonly called, Baptista Mantuanus.²

This later Mantuan was born about 1448.³ He was a pupil of Gregorio Tifernate and of Georgius Merula;⁴ and he afterwards studied philosophy at Padua.⁵ Early in life he entered

¹ A part of this article, with some additional notes on Mantuan's life and works, will form the introduction to a forthcoming edition of the *Eclogues*.

² In one of the letters of Isabella d' Este (Aug. 23, 1504) he is called “R.^{do} frate Bap.^{ta} Spagnolo”; see *Romanische Forschungen*, xxvi, 813. In a proclamation of the Marquis of Mantua (June 25, 1514) he is “R.^{do} mag.^{ro} Bap.^{ta} Spagnolo”; see *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, xxxiv, 57. In the closing novel of Sabadino's *Porretane* he is “maestro Baptista Spagnolo Mantoano.”

³ In a little poem *Vitae suae Epitome*, he states that he was born in the reign of Pope Nicholas V—“istius accepi lucis primordia, quintus | in solio Petri cum Nicolaus erat”—which probably means soon after March 6, 1447, and certainly means not earlier than that date. In the dedicatory epistle prefixed to his *Eclogues*, Sept. 1, 1498, he calls himself “quinquagenarius.”

⁴ He seems to have studied under both of these teachers at Mantua: F. Gabotto, *Ancora un letterato del Quattrocento*, 1890, pp. 22–23. Gregorio was at Mantua from April 1460 to December 1461.

⁵ See the dedication of his *Eclogues*: “ante religionem, dum in gymnasio Paduano philosophari inciperem.” The *Catholic Encyclopaedia* (1907), II, 276, says “at Pavia.”

a Carmelite monastery.¹ In 1472 he was made professor in a monastery at Bologna; and he seems to have maintained some connection with Bologna for many years after his professorship was terminated. In 1483 he was elected Vicar-general of the Carmelite Congregation of Mantua, which was at that time a semi-independent body. And to this office he was re-elected five times,—each time for a period of two years, with an interval of four years,—in 1489, 1495, 1501, 1507, 1513.

The first term of his office, and the first interval, were spent mainly at Rome, where he secured for his Congregation the church and monastery of S. Crisogono. In 1489 he went to Loreto, at the head of a company of Carmelite friars who were to be put in charge of the Santa Casa. In 1490—at least from March to October—his correspondence shows that he was in Bologna. But he probably spent most of his remaining life at Mantua. In 1513 he was elected General of the entire Carmelite Order; and he seems to have held this office until his death.² He

¹ "Religio placuit iuveni," etc., *Vitae suae Epitome*. The date usually assigned is 1464, and both Mantua and Ferrara are named as the place. "In a letter addressed to his father (1st April, 1464), and in his first publication, *De Vita Beata*, he gave an account of his previous life and of the motives which led him to the cloister." So the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*. But the *De Vita Beata* contains nothing of the sort, and one would like some other authority for the letter and its date. The first eight *Elegies* were written "ante religionem"; the fourth (at least, in its revised form) laments the death of Gregorio Tifernate; and Gregorio seems to have lived till about 1466. Firmin-Didot makes him professor of Greek at Venice, 1460–1466 (*Alde Manuce et l'Hellénisme à Venise*, Paris, 1875, xliii).

² Florido Ambrogio, *De rebus gestis ac scriptis operibus Baptista Mantuani*, Turin, 1784, pp. 96–99. Many modern accounts say that Mantuan soon resigned his high office—because his reforms were opposed, or in order to devote himself entirely to literature. And there is a similar statement in G. J. Voss, *De Historiis Latinis*, III, 2, II. Possibly the tradition is based upon a remark by Seb. Murrho, in the preface to his commentary on the first *Parthenice*: "audivimus ex Conrado Leontorio, quo a secretis familiariter utimur, magistratu se quem in eo ordine summum gessit abdicavisse, ut liberius humanis divinisque litteris vacare posset." This preface is not dated, but it was printed in 1513 (at the beginning of Ascensius' Paris edition), and it may have been taken to refer to that year. But Murrho died in 1495; and his report must refer to Mantuan's office of Vicar-general, not to his office of General at all.

died at Mantua in 1516. He was beatified, December 17, 1885.¹

As a member of a monastic order — Frater Baptista Mantuanus — our author never calls himself by his family name. He was the son of Pietro Spagnolo, a Spanish nobleman from Granada, who had himself lost his family name of Moduer (or Modover), and received the name Spagnolo from the name of his own country. His grandfather, “Antonius Cordubensis,” took part in the naval battle off Gaeta in 1435 — when Alfonso V of Aragon was defeated by the Genoese. Being taken prisoner along with his king, he spent some time at Milan; and he remained in Italy after Alfonso was released. Pietro went to Mantua, and there rose to high favor with the ruling house. In 1457 he appears as steward (*sescalco*) of the Marquis Lodovico, who in 1460 conferred upon him and his children the citizenship of Mantua. He enjoyed the favor of the next two marquises also, Federico and Francesco Gonzaga. He died early in 1494.

Baptista had several brothers and sisters. The eldest, Tolomeo,² became the confidential secretary of the Marquis Francesco; and by 1507 he had risen to such favor that he was even allowed to take the name of Gonzaga. But he grossly abused this confidence — by forgery and fraud and trafficking in justice — and after the death of the Marquis (in 1519) he was forced to flee from the city.

In form and feature Mantuan was not very handsome or imposing. One of his admirers who visited him in 1500 can only say with Odysseus that “the gods do not give every gracious gift to all, neither shapeliness nor wisdom nor skilled

¹ The *Catholic Encyclopaedia* says “1890.” Dr. E. A. Loew has kindly examined for me the official document at the Vatican. He reports that the date of the *Decretum* is December 17, 1885; also, that the poet’s name is there given as “Baptista Spagnolus.”

² Tolomeo seems to have been of illegitimate birth; and Baptista himself was perhaps “ex damnato coitu natus,” as Paulus Jovius puts it: S. Davari, *Della famiglia Spagnola, quale risulta dai documenti dell’ archivio storico Gonzaga, Mantua, 1873* (cited by Luzio-Renier, *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XXXIV. 59, and by F. Gabotto, *Un poeta beatificato*, Venice, 1892, p. 4).

speech" ¹— "scias id rectissime posse de Baptista dici quod Homerus et ceteri vates de Ulysse rettulerunt, qui corpore parvus et forma indecorus sed ingenio maximus et animo speciosissimus fuisse perhibetur." ² So Luca Gaurico calls him "parvus et modicae statura," in his *Tractatus Astrologicus*. ³ And Bandello says that he was very ugly: "era brutto come il culo, e pareva nato dai Baronzi." ⁴

From his own writings we can collect a long list of his friends and patrons in various cities. It must have meant much to him in his later years that he enjoyed the favor and the patronage of the Gonzagas—especially of the Marquis Francesco, the Marchioness Isabella (who is better known as Isabella d' Este) and the Cardinal Sigismondo. And he had other good friends at Mantua, in Paride Ceresara, Baptista Fiera, and Andrea Mantegna. But he had already made many friends in Bologna and Florence and Rome. At Bologna he had received much kindness from Gio. Baptista Refrigerio and Lodovico Foscarari; and he was on intimate terms with the novelist Sabadino, with Count Andrea Bentivoglio, Antonio Fantuzzi, and Filippo Beroaldo. Of his friends made at Rome, he mentions Filippo Baveria, Falcone de' Sinibaldi, Oliviero Carafa, Cardinal of Naples, Pomponius Laetus, Gio. Gioviano Pontano, Alessandro Cortese, and Petrus Marsus. At Florence he had very distinguished friends in Pico della Mirandola (both the uncle and the nephew) and Angelo Poliziano; and his correspondence shows that his friendship with these men (as with Beroaldo) was not merely a formal matter, but something very real and intimate. And still others who may be mentioned here are Carforo Machiavelli, of Ferrara, Bernardo Bembo, of Venice, Hermolaus Barbarus, Georgius Merula, Gio. Pietro Arrivabene, Bishop of Urbino, Pamphilo Sasso, of Modena, and the German scholar Thomas Wolf, Jr.

¹ Homer, *Od. VIII, 167.* Cf. Ov. *A.A.*, II, 123, non formosus erat, sed erat facundus Ulixes.

² Letter from Thomas Wolf, Jr., to Jacob Wimpfeling, February 24, 1503.

³ Quoted by F. Gabotto, op. cit., 8.

⁴ *Novelle*, III, 52, *fin.* (quoted by Luzio-Renier, op. cit., 66).

Mantuan achieved distinction in various fields—"sacrae theologiae doctor, philosophus insignis, poeta et orator celeberrimus," as Trithemius, Abbot of Spanheim, could say in 1494.¹ Trithemius mentions also his proficiency in Greek—"Latinae linguae decus et Graecae clarus interpres"—and Paulus Jovius makes especial mention of his interest in Hebrew. Indeed, Jovius says that his interest in Hebrew—"insatiabilis Hebraicorum studiorum cupiditas"—interfered with the fullest exercise of his poetic gift: "ut . . . in excollendis Musis curam ac diligentiam remittere cogeretur."²

His writings were exceedingly numerous, and included both prose and verse.³ Sabadino, writing apparently about 1479, mentions his work in philosophy⁴ and gives a list of his earlier Latin poems.⁵ Trithemius, writing in 1494, has a longer list, and adds: "vivit adhuc in Italia celeberrima opinione ubique nominatus et varia conscribit."

Apart from his *Eclogues*, his poems include eight books of *Silvae*,⁶ or "subitaria carmina," written at various times and

¹ *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, per Johannem à Tritenheim, Cologne 1531.

² *Elogia virorum literis illustrium*, Basel ed., 1577, p. 117.

³ Dr. H. H. Furness, the editor of the *Variorum Shakespeare*, gives it as his opinion that Mantuan "wrote nothing but eclogues" (*LLL*, iv, 2, 95). But Filippo Beroaldo could say of him in 1502: "fecundus prorsus artifex, utpote qui versuum millia plurima considerit, adeo ut Musae, ut Apollo, ut Dionysus, ut di omnes poetici nullum hoc saeculo indulgentius fuisse videantur" (Letter to the editor of the collected poems, Bologna, 1502). Lilio Giraldi says "extant illius versus paene innumerabiles" (*De poetis nostrorum temporum*). And the amount of his literary output came to be almost proverbial; cf. *Les Après-Dinées du Seigneur de Cholières* (1587): "Direz vous que Baptiste Mantouan n'ait été habile homme, qu'il n'ait fait aucune chose? Ses œuvres le nous tesmoignent treslaborieux, et neantmoins il estoit carme" (Paris ed., 1879, p. 57). Indeed, his brother Tolomeo could say of him: "qui tanta conscripsit (de poetis loquor) quanta nemo alias Latinorum" (*De licentiis antiquorum poetarum*).

⁴ "El quale, seguendo in li studii della sacra philosophia la doctrina del subtilissimo Scoto, ha scripto in quella opre eximie et prestante" (*Novella* l.xi).

⁵ "El Suburbano, la Presidentia de l' oratore et del poeta, Lociamo, la Morte contemnda, el Cola, la Porreta, opre tutte scripte et dedicate al suo carissimo Refrigerio, similmente la Calamità di nostri tempi, la Vita della regina di cieli et altre sue excellentissime opre, quale sarebbono troppo lungo a numerare."

⁶ The *Silvae* are arranged in eight books in the Bologna edition of 1502. Earlier editions of his collected poems had been printed c. 1499 (place and date

on various subjects; three books *De suorum temporum Calamitatibus*; and seven poems each entitled *Parthenice*, of which the first contains three books on the life of the Blessed Virgin, and the second devotes three books to the story of St. Catharine of Alexandria. The other poems of the series deal with St. Margarita, St. Agatha, St. Lucia, St. Apollonia, and St. Caecilia. And there are similar poems on the lives of Dionysius the Areopagite, St. George, St. Blaise, and St. Nicholas of Tolentino. There is a book of *Epigrammata ad Falconem*; six books entitled *Alfonsus, pro rege Hispaniae de victoria Granatae*; five books of a *Trophaeum pro Gallis expulsis*; six books entitled *Agelarii*; an address to the various Christian potentates urging them to take up arms against the Turk; a poem *De Bello Veneto anni MDIX*; and twelve books *De Sacris Diebus*, which set forth and explain the various Saints' Days of the Roman year.

Of his prose works, the most popular seem to have been the *De Vita Beata* (written in dialogue form, after the manner of Cicero) and the three books *De Patientia*. Trithemius mentions also an *Introductorium subtilis Scotti*, a book of "Orationes elegantissimae," an *Apologia pro f. Petro* (in three books), and "Epistolae multae ad diversos." Among his later tracts there are a *Dialogus contra Detractores*, an *Apologia pro Carmelitis*, and an *Epistola contra Calumniatores*.

He wrote with the greatest fluency and rapidity,¹ and is even said to have published more than 55,000 verses. He tells us himself that his poem on the Blessed Virgin—a poem of about 2900 lines—was the work of two years, "duorum annorum lucubratio"; and that his 2100 lines on St. Catharine of Alexandria were written in forty days—merely by way of improving the time in an enforced summer vacation.² But in spite of this rapid production his writings

not stated), and in 1500 (at Cologne). Another edition (incomplete, but with copious commentaries) was published by Badius Ascensius, Paris, 1513. The most complete edition of his works was issued at Antwerp in 1576.

¹ "Poema omne carptim composui, cursim absolvi, non fere alter quam canes aiunt bibere in Aegypto" (*Epistola contra Calumniatores*).

² "Quadraginta enim et non amplius diebus opus absolutum est, dum propter aestivum iustitium negotiis intermissis curamus otia canicularia salubriter cum

were very popular, and he was hailed by many of his contemporaries as a second Virgil.¹ Even before his death, a portrait bust of him was set up at Mantua, beside one of Virgil and one of the Marquis Francesco.² His works were carried

aliqua studiorum fruge transigere." So, too, his three books on Dionysius the Areopagite were written in a year: "lucubrationi huic annum impendi."

¹ Thus Sabadino could say of him (c. 1479): "che è iudicato essere emulo e, se cossì è licito dire, equiparare el divin Marone suo conterraneo" (*Novella LXI*). Sebastian Murrho could write, in the preface to his commentary on the first *Parthenice* (c. 1493): "eius me delectatum ingenio (quo concivem suum Andinum Vergilium facile consequitur et aequat)," etc. Trithemius considered him the equal of Cicero in prose, of Virgil in verse (Florido Ambrogio, op. cit., 103). Thomas Wolf, Jr., had a high opinion of the *Eclogues* in particular: "quae eruditorum sententia totae sunt aureae. in quibus videre licet id quod in Theocriti et Maronis carmine maxime admirarum" (Letter to Jacob Wimpfeling, Feb. 24, 1503). Filippo Beroaldo ranked him next to Virgil: "proximus longo quidem intervallo, sed tamen proximus" (Letter to the editor of the collected poems, Bologna, 1502). The respective merits of the two poets are discussed in the third *Idyl* of Helius Eobanus Hessus (first printed in 1509, but here quoted from the third revised edition, Frankfort, 1564):

Cyg. ergo age, in hoc gelido postquam consedimus antro,
unde pecus patet atque oculis vicinia nostris,
estne aliquis gelida Faustus tibi lectus in umbra?
Phil. vidimus audaci fluidum pede currere Faustum,
cui nihil invideat noster nolitque secundum
Tityrus, et patria natum patiatur eadem.
Cyg. atqui pastores quosdam contentio nuper
illa diu tenuit, paribusne in carmina surgant
viribus alteriusne an deferat alter honori.
Phil. ut lentas corylos damnosa securibus ilex,
quantum humiles superat cornus ramosa genistas,
tam meus in versu praecedit Tityrus illum
qui Faustum gelida cecinit resupinus in umbra.
ah, male quorundam trivialis iudicat error.

And Teofilo Folengo ('Merlinus Cocaius') could write — just how seriously, it is hard to say —

mons quoque Carmelus Baptistae versibus altis
iam boat, atque novum Manto fecisse Maronem
gaudet, nec primo praefert tamen illa Maroni,
namque vetusta nocet laus nobis saepe modernis.

Macaronea, xxv fin.

² By Baptista Fiera, in 1514. They were set on an arch which joined Fiera's house to the Convent of S. Francesco (Luzio-Renier, op. cit., 56-57). They are mentioned in Scipio Maffei's account of the Marquis Francesco, *Annali di Mantova*, xi, 6 (quoted by Florido Ambrogio, op. cit., 103): "e presso S. Fran-

abroad, often by members of his own order,¹ and promptly reprinted in many European cities. And the canons of an Augustinian monastery in Westphalia could say, shortly before 1500: "ut vere de vobis David prophetasse putetur ubi inquit, in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum, re vera in fines orbis terrae egressa sunt verba (super mel et favum dulciora) vatis praestantissimi sacri ordinis Carmelitarum Baptistae Mantuani."² The high esteem in which he was held is pleasantly indicated in one of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, II, 12 (Guilhelmus Lamp to Ortinus Gratius, c. 1517)—an account of a journey from Cologne to Rome. The traveller stops at Mantua: "et dixit socius meus, hic natus fuit Virgilius. respondi, quid curo illum paganum? nos volumus ire ad Carmelitas et videre

cesco fu scolpita la sua immagine tra quella di Virgilio e di Battista Carmelitano con questo verso:

ARGVMENTVM VTRIQVE INGENS, SI SECLA COIRENT."

And an English traveller could report in 1608: "Over the gate of the Franciscans Church is to be seen the true statue of that famous Poet and Orator Baptista Mantuanus a Carmelite Frier borne in this Citie, who flourished Anno 1496" (Coryat's *Crudities*, Glasgow ed., 1905, I, 267). Paulus Jovius has what looks like an inaccurate story of the same monument: "Federicus autem Princeps marmoream effigiem cum laurea posuit, quae in arcu lapideo iuxta Virgilii Maronis simulacrum, pia hercle si non ridenda comparatione, conspicitur" (*Elogia virorum literis illustrium*, Basel ed., 1577, p. 118). Cf., further, Lilio Giraldi's remark: "quas ei statuas Mantuani erexerunt" (*De poetis nostrorum temporum*, ed. K. Wotke, Berlin, 1894, p. 25).

¹ A letter from Badius Ascensius to the Carmelite Laurentius Burellus (Lyons, July 26, 1492) states that the latter has brought to Lyons many excellent Italian books—among them, various works of Baptista Mantuanus (*Philippi Beroaldi Orationes et Poemata*, Lyons, 1492, fol. 2).

² Letter to the Carmelite Prior at Bologna, printed in the edition of 1502. The date is mutilated by the printer: "anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo pridie Nonas Februario"; but the writers mention a Deventer reprint of the *De Patientia* (first printed at Brescia, 1497). Cf. Mantuan's *Epistola contra Calumniatores*: "leguntur ubique libelli mei, et videntur esse totius orbis iudicio approbati; non omnes tamen, sed qui iam pridem sunt editi ac Bononiae per Benedictum Hectoris impressi; fere enim in totum Christianismum pervenerunt, quacumque Latina lingua est diffusa . . . veniunt ad me crebro epistolae ex Galliis, ex Britanniis, a Germania, ex Dacia, ab oceano usque Cimbrico, quibus intelligo opuscula mea illic esse in pretio, ab omnibus legi, ab omnibus laudari" (Lyons ed., 1516, fol. Aa, viii).

Baptistam Mantuanum qui in duplo est melior quam Virgilius . . . et quando venimus ad Claustrum Carmelitarum, dicebatur nobis quod Baptista Mantuanus est mortuus; tunc dixi, requiescat in pace." And about the same time Erasmus could speak of Mantuan as a "Christianus Maro" and add: "et nisi me fallat augurium, erit, erit aliquando Baptista suo concive gloria celebritateque non ita multo inferior, simul invidiam anni detraxerint.¹ habet, habet fortunatissimus Carmelitarum Ordo quo sibi placeat, quo cunctos provocet."²

But there arose other critics who were less partial, or less sympathetic. Ludovicus Vives called him "magis copiosus et facilis quam tersus et sublimitati argumentorum respondens."³ Lilio Giraldi was moved to say:

Laudo institutum piumque propositum, verum extemporalis magis quam poeta maturus. extant illius versus paene innumerabiles, ex quibus apud vulgus et barbaros quosdam laudem tantam est adeptus, ut unus prope poeta et alter paene Maro haberetur. at bone Deus, quam dispar ingenium! nam ut ubique Maro perfectus, ita hic immodica et paene temeraria ubique usus est licentia, quam et magis atque magis in dies auxit. . . . iuvenis ille quidem laudabilior poeta fuit; cum vero ei desedit calor ille et fervor iuvenilis, tamquam amnis sine obice extra ripas sordide diffluens coerceri non potuit. vix enim ea legere possumus, quae longius ille aetate provectus carmina scripsit.⁴

¹ Letter to Henricus a Bergis, *Opera omnia* (Leyden, 1703), III, 1783. This amazing judgment suggests that Erasmus — like the worthy Guilhelmus Lamp — was more concerned with Mantuan's religious tone than with his workmanship. So, in another letter (III, 808), he contrasts the Carmelite poet with the "pagan" Marullus; and in a third he writes: "malim hemistichium Mantuani quam tres Marullicas myriadas." This last letter is addressed to Jacob Wimpfeling ("Basileae postridie Purificationis. Anno xvii"). It is apparently not included in the Leyden edition of the *Opera omnia*, but is prefixed to Mantuan's *De Sacris Diebus* in the Strassburg edition of 1520.

² Mantuan was promptly accepted as an authority on poetical usage by "Joannes Despauterius, Ravisius Textor, Hermannus Torrentinus," and others (Florido Ambrogio, op. cit., 124). He is often quoted in a *Gradus ad Parnassum* printed at London, 1773. And the *Christian Remembrancer* for 1847 (xiv, 323) says: "and even now, in such dictionaries as Ainsworth and Young, Mantuan stands as an authority."

³ *De tradendis disciplinis*, III (quoted by Florido Ambrogio, op. cit., 127).

⁴ *De poetis nostrorum temporum*, ed. K. Wotke, Berlin, 1894, p. 24.

The great champion of Virgil, Julius Caesar Scaliger, was stirred to very vigorous language :

mollis, languidus, fluxus, incompositus, sine numeris, plebeius ; non sine ingenio, sed sine arte. dum modo scribat quod in mentem venerit, edat quod scripserit, susque deque habet.

And as for the *Eclogues* in particular, he could express himself only by a parody of what Horace had said of Virgil :

putri atque caduco
Carmelum imbuerunt sordentes rure cicadae.¹

After this outburst we hear much less about the "pagan" and the "Christian" Virgil. One man did revive the comparison, but he was a Carmelite historian.²

The *Eclogues* are ten in number, making a total of 2063 lines. The author tells us, in his dedicatory epistle, that the first eight were written while he was a student at Padua,³ and that the last two were added after he had joined the Carmelite Order. He tells us, also, that he revised these youthful compositions when he was about fifty years old ; and we may be sure that this revision added much to the value of the poems. But even after their revision he seems to have regarded them as a rather frivolous and unimportant piece of work ; and he probably never dreamed that his ten *Eclogues* were to contribute more to his fame and to his influence than all the rest of his 55,000 verses.

They were first printed, at least in their revised form, in 1498.⁴ They were very popular from the beginning, and soon

¹ *Poetice*, vi, 4. ² See Baillet, *Jugemens des Savans* (ed. 1722), IV, 324.

³ "Quendam libellum meum quem olim ante religionem, dum in gymnasio Paduano philosophari inciperem, ludens excuderam et ab illa aetate Adolescentiam vocaveram."

⁴ "Mantuae Impraessum per Vincentium Berthocum Regiensem Anno domini MCCCCCLXXXVIII." So the colophon of my own copy. The dedicatory epistle is addressed to a friend at Mantua, and dated Sept. 1. Both Brunet's *Manuel* and Graesse's *Trésor* mention an edition printed at Poitiers in 1498 ; and both Graesse and Hain cite even an edition with a few notes by Joh. Murmellius printed at Strassburg in the same year. Graesse calls the Mantua edition a reprint of the Poitiers edition. The *Dictionary of National Biography* (s.v. Alexander Barclay) says that Mantuan's *Eclogues* "appeared about 1400." Mr. C. S. Jerram gives a definite date, 1402 (*Virgil, Bucolics*, Oxford, 1887, p. 13).

came to be widely read — not only in Italy, but in France and Germany and England.¹ They were immediately provided with a commentary, by Iodocus Badius Ascensius,² and for nearly two hundred years they were commonly used, both on the Continent and in England, as a text-book in schools.

Their use as a school-book is attested by countless editions of Ascensius' commentary ; but it is also definitely stated at times, or clearly implied. There is a letter of Thomas Wolf, Jr., to Jacob Wimpfeling, written at Strassburg, Feb. 24, 1503, which speaks of a school edition of a thousand copies :³

Aeglogas Baptista Mantuani (sicut audio) tradidisti Ioanni Preusz chalcographo communi nostro amico, ut in mille exemplaria transcriptae latissime diuulgentur. debet profecto tibi plurimum Germana iuuentus, quae diligentia tua multis doctorum uirorum monumentis facta est opulentior. semper enim ex officina tua literatoria aliiquid depromis quod iuuet, quod delectet, quod linguas iuuenum reddat politiores.

And Wimpfeling's reply, dated March 1, 1503, emphasizes the fitness of Mantuan for school use :

Baptistam Mantuanum extollo, tum in poematibus suis tersis et puris, quae absque ueneno a maturo paeceptore iuuéntuti tradi possunt, tum quod amor poeticae in eo non extinguit studium sacrae paginae et philosophiae, nam ex eius libello de patientia magnum eum et philosophum et theologum esse liquido constat.

¹ The catalogue of the British Museum contains copies printed at Erfurt in 1501, at Bologna and at Paris in 1502, at Venice and at Strassburg in 1503, at London in 1519, etc.

² Both Graesse and Hain say that this commentary was printed at Strassburg in 1500. It was printed at Paris in 1502 (with a dedicatory epistle dated March 27), at Strassburg in 1503, at Deventer in 1504, at Tübingen in 1511, etc., etc. It was printed in London at least as late as 1676, and at Cologne at least as late as 1688.

³ Wolf's letter and Wimpfeling's reply are quoted in the Tübingen edition of the *Eclogues*, 1515. Wimpfeling preferred the *Eclogues* of Mantuan to those of Virgil, "propter Latinitatis copiam, propter stili planam dulcedinem, propter utiliora argumenta, propter pudicitiam et honestatem," J. Vodoz, *Le Théâtre Latin de Ravisius Textor*, Winterthur, 1898, p. 149. Other references which are probably of interest in this connection are "Klette, *Beiträge*, III, 20," and "Knod, *Aus der Bibliothek des Beatus Rhenanus*, 1889, pp. 9-10."

In St. Paul's School, London, Mantuan was prescribed by statute, in 1518.¹ For Colet would have his "scolers" taught in "goode auctors suych as haue the veray Romayne eliquence joyned withe wisdome, specially Cristyn auctours that wrote theyre wysdome with clene and chast laten other in verse or in prose." And among such authors he names "lactancius prudentius and proba and sedulius and Juuencus and Baptista Mantuanus." This passage may suggest some of Mantuan's religious poems rather than the *Eclogues*,² though some of the latter may very well have been included. And there may be a like uncertainty in the statute which prescribed "B. Mantuanus, Palingenius, Buchanani Scripta, Sedulius, Prudentius" for the Free Grammar School of St. Bees in Cumberland, in 1583.³ But the *Eclogues* are specifically fixed by school orders

¹ J. H. Lupton, *Life of Dean Colet*, London, 1887, p. 279.

² About 1493 Seb. Murro wrote a commentary on the first *Parthenice*: "cum maxime trivialium ludorum magistris consulere statuerim iuvenilique aetati." About 1502 Filippo Beroaldo says of Mantuan: "nec solum habetur in manibus et ediscitur, verum etiam in scholis enarratur, et inde saluberrima tirunculis dictata grammaticae praescribunt" (Letter prefixed to the Bologna edition of the collected poems, 1502). In one of the *Epistolae* (XLI) of Ravisius Textor, one of Mantuan's epic poems is mentioned as a school-book: "testatus Lucanum, Silium, et Statium, ut duriusculos; Mantuani Carmen, ut paulo flaccidius, a plerisque non usquequaque probari" (London ed., 1683, p. 33). Cf. also the *Elegiae Morales* of Johannes Murrmellius (printed in 1507), I, i, 53-60:

nobilis aethereo plenus Baptista furore
heroicam inflavit me moderante tubam;
virgineis libros infersit laudibus almos,
lucida belligeros vexit in astra duces.
ille graves huius deflevit temporis aestus,
ille Cupidineos vitat ubique iocos.
ergo frequentatis divina poemata ludis
dictantur summi non sine laude viri,

and III, i, 47-52:

gloria Carmeli veteres Baptista poetas
gymnasiis pellens pulpita celsa tenet.
dum pia virginibus solventur vota sacratis,
dum populi flentes tristia fata gement,
crescit honor vatis maiorque videbitur annis,
rectius arbitrium posteritatis erit

(Münster ed., by A. Bömer, 1893, pp. 9, 75). In a letter of May 1, 1518, Jacob Wimpfeling suggests a school edition of the *De Sacris Diebus*.

³ T. Spencer Baynes, *Shakespeare Studies*, London, 1894, p. 174.

at the King's School, Durham, in 1593;¹ they were in use in the Free School of St. Helens, c. 1635;² and they were recommended for the third form in Charles Hoole's *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School*, 1660:

For Afternoon lessons on Mondayes and Wednesdayes let them make use of Mantuanus, which is a Poet, both for style and matter, very familiar and gratefull to children, and therefore read in most Schooles. They may read over some of the Eclogues that are less offensive than the rest, takeing six lines at a lesson, which they should first commit to memory, as they are able, etc.³

And as Hoole records, they were used in the Rotherham Grammar School (in the fourth form) before he became head master:

For afternoon lessons they read Terence two dayes, and Mantuan two dayes, which they translated into English, and repeated on Fridayes, as before.⁴

Julius Caesar Scaliger complained that some teachers actually preferred them to the *Eclogues* of Virgil: "hoc propterea dico, quia in nostro tyrocinio literarum triviales quidam paedagogi etiam Virgilianis pastoribus huius hircos praetulere."⁵ There is a similar complaint in the preface of Thomas Farnaby's edition of Martial, London, 1615: "quando ipsis paedagogulis *Fauste precor gelida* sonet altius quam *Arma virumque cano*." And Dr. Samuel Johnson states that "Mantuan was read, at least in some of the inferior schools of this kingdom, to the beginning of the present century."⁶ For Spain also we have the statement of an Italian historian

¹ Foster Watson, *The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England*, London, 1909, p. 187.

² Id., *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*, Cambridge, 1908, p. 486.

³ This was an exercise in "metaphrase," T. Spencer Baynes, op. cit., 186. Professor Baynes says (p. 161) that Hoole's *New Discovery* "was not published till 1659, but, as the title-page states, it was written twenty-three years earlier." Professor Watson says, "published in 1660, written twenty years earlier."

⁴ T. Spencer Baynes, op. cit., 172.

⁵ *Poetice*, vi, 4.

⁶ *Lives of the Poets*, Ambrose Philips.

that about 1615 the poems of Mantuan were read "a' giovani publicamente nelle scuole d' umanità."¹

In 1579, Thomas Lodge could say, in his *Defence of Poetry*: "Miserable were our state yf we wanted those worthy volumes of Poetry: could the learned beare the losse of Homer? or our younglings the wrytings of Mantuan?" And so Drayton tells us that, when he expressed a boyish wish to become a poet, his tutor

began

And first read to me honest Mantuan,
Then Virgil's Eclogues.²

It will be observed that Shâkespeare's quotation from Mantuan is put into the mouth of a schoolmaster; and it may be suggestive for our estimate of Holofernes' learning that he quotes the first line of the first *Eclogue*—as it were, the opening phrase of his First Latin Reader. At any rate, the same phrase is used to indicate a very little learning in one of Gabriel Harvey's gibes at poor Greene: "he searched euery corner of his Grammer-schoole witte (for his margine is as deepe lie learned as *Fauste precor gelida*)."³ And it is used in the same way in one of the pleasant tales of Bonaventure des Periers: "Il y avoit un prebstre de village qui estoit tout fier d'avoir veu un petit plus que son Caton. Car il avoit leu *De Syntaxi* et son *Fauste precor gelida*."⁴

And this common use as a school-book may help to explain some other references in English, French, and German authors.

In Robert Greene's *Tritameron of Love* (ed. Grosart, III, 100) there is a mention of "*Mantuans* principle . . . that weal is neuer without woe, no blisse without bale, ech sweete hath his sower, euery commodity hath his discommodity annexed." This alludes to *Ecl.* II, 25–26,

commoditas omnis sua fert incommoda secum,
et sorti appendix est illaetabilis omni.

¹ Donesmondi, *Stor. eccles. di Mantova*, quoted by Luzio-Renier, op. cit., 68.

² *To my dearly loved Friend, Henry Reynolds Esq., of Poets and Poesy.*

³ *Fourre Letters* (1592), ed. Grosart, I, 195.

⁴ *Nouvelles Recréations et joyeux Devis*, Nouvelle XL.

In the *Historie of Orlando Furioso*, II, 1 (671), Greene quotes *Ecl. iv*, 110,

femineum servile genus, crudele, superbum;

and in the 'Epistle to the Gentlemen Schollers of both Universities,' prefixed to his *Mourning Garment* (ix, 124), he quotes the "semel insanivimus omnes" of *Ecl. i*, 118. In the first part of *Mamillia* (II, 107) he has an allusion to the famous diatribe against women, in the fourth *Eclogue*: "I would correct *Mantuans Eglogue*, intituled *Alphus*: or els if the Authour were alive, I woulde not doubt to perswade him in recompence of his errour, to frame a new one." And in the second part (II, 226) he returns to the same subject: "yea the railing of *Mantuian* in his Eglogs, the exclaiming of *Euripides* in his Tragedies, the tants of *Martiall*, and prime quippes of *Propertius*, are more of course then cause, and rather inforced by rage than inferred by reason."

The "semel insanivimus omnes" of *Ecl. i*, 118, is twice quoted by Thomas Nashe—in the Prologue to *Summer's Last Will and Testament* (1600), and in *Have with you to Saffron-Walden* (1596): "and he replied with that wether-beaten peice out of the Grammer, *Semel insanivimus omnes*, once in our dayes there is none of vs but haue plaid the ideots." And in the *Anatomie of Absurditie* (1589), Nashe has his allusion to the fourth *Eclogue*:

To this might be added *Mantuans* inuictiue against them, but that pittie makes me refraine from renewing his worne out complaints, the wounds wherof the former forepast feminine sexe hath felt. I, but here the *Homer* of Women hath forestalled an obiection, saying that *Mantuans* house holding of our Ladie, he was enforced by melancholie into such vehemencie of speech, and that there be amongst them as amongst men, some good, some badde, etc.¹

¹ Ed. R. B. McKerrow, London, 1904, I, 12. This seems to be an inaccurate reference to a passage in Robert Greene's *Mamillia* (ed. Grosart, II, 107): "I would correct *Mantuans Eglogue*, intituled *Alphus* . . . for surely though *Euripides* in his tragedies doth greatly exclaim against that sexe, yet it was in his choller, and he infered a generall by a particular, which is absurd. He had an euyll wife, what then?" Mr. McKerrow explains Nashe's phrase "Mantuans house holding of our Ladie" to mean "his wife having the upper hand of him,

Ecl. I, 52, "nec deus, ut perhibent, Amor est," is quoted in one of Gabriel Harvey's letters to Spenser, 1579 (ed. Grosart, I, 25). And the whole line appears as a motto on the title-page of *Alcilia: Parthenophil's Loving Folly* (1595):

Nec Deus (ut perhibent) amor est, sed amaror et error.¹

The story of Amyntas, *Ecl.* II-III, is introduced, as thoroughly familiar matter, in the first eclogue of Francis Sabie's *Pan's Pipe* (1595), ll. 76-93.² And it seems to be alluded to in Thomas Randolph's *Eclogue occasioned by Two Doctors disputing upon Predestination*:

Love-sick Amyntas, get a philtre here,
To make thee lovely to thy truly dear.

The motto at the end of *Three Pastoral Elegies*, by William Basse (1602), is taken from *Ecl.* I, 9-10:

quando vacat, quando est iucunda relatu,
historiam prima repetens ab origine pandam.

Ecl. v, 63-64:

sidera iungamus : facito mihi Iuppiter adsit,
et tibi Mercurius noster dabit omnia faxo,

is the motto on the title-page of Thomas Middleton's *Familie of Love* (1607). And *Ecl.* III, 87, "regia res amor est," is set in like manner on the title-page of Richard Brome's *The Queenes Exchange*.

The phrase "semel insanivimus omnes," *Ecl.* I, 118, served as the motto of Samuel Nicholson's *Acolastus his After-witte*

and ruling his household," and quotes Ascham's *Scholemaster* (ed. Wright, p. 205), "if the house hold of our Lady." And he very justly insists that Greene is here referring to the wife of Euripides, "and not to Mantuan's wife at all." A bit of gossip in one of the novels of Bandello (III, 52) offers a little different explanation of Mantuan's bitterness: "Intendo anche che il mio compatriotta, il poeta carmelita, ha fatta un' ecloga in vituperio delle donne, ove generalmente biasima tutte le donne. Ma sapete ciò che ne dice Mario Equicola segretario di madama di Mantova? Egli afferma che il nostro poeta era innamorato d' una bella giovane, e che ella non lo volle amare ; onde adirato compose quella maledica ecloga" (quoted by Luzio-Renier, op. cit., 66).

¹Arber's *English Garner*, IV (1882), 253.

²Reprinted, by J. W. Bright, in *Modern Philology*, VII, 446.

(1600);¹ and it is quoted in *The Return from Parnassus* (printed in 1606), IV, 2.

The quotation in *Wily Beguiled* (printed in 1602),² “optatis non est spes ulla potiri,” comes from *Ecl. I*, 53.

In Thomas Heywood's *Challenge for Beautie*, I, 1, there is an allusion to the famous fourth *Eclogue*. Here the “proud Queen” Isabel says, of the compliments due to women :

Such as would give us our full character
Must search for Epithites and studie phrase ;

and the honest Lord Bonavida replies :

Examine but plaine *Mantuan*, and hee'l tell you, what woman is.

The phrase “melior vigilantia somno,” *Ecl. I*, 5, is quoted in William Martyn's *Youth's Instruction* (1612).³

In Drayton's *Owl*, the playful mention of the lark,

And for his reverence, though he wear a cowl,

alludes to *Ecl. VII*, 4,

bardocucullatus caput, ut campestris alauda.

And in his *Epistle of Mrs. Shore to Edward IV*. there is an allusion to the fourth *Eclogue* :

Nor are we so turn'd Neapolitan,
That might incite some foul mouth'd Mantuan
To all the world to lay out our defects,
And have just cause to rail upon our sex, etc.

Ecl. III, 81, is quoted, freely, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Wit at Several Weapons*, I, 2 : *Ut nocte mecum pernoctet egestas, luce quotidie paupertas habitet*. This is quoted by “Priscian, a poor Scholar”—much as Shakespeare's quotation from Mantuan is put into the mouth of “Holofernes, a schoolmaster.”

In *Witt's Recreations*, the phrase “sorte tua contentus,” *Ecl. V*, 46, is used as the title of two separate epigrams.

¹ J. P. Collier, *Biographical Account of Early English Literature*, III, 58.

² Dodsley's *Old English Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, IX, 232.

³ *Report of U. S. Commissioner of Education for 1904*, I, 664.

And the "semel insanivimus," or "semel insanivimus omnes," of *Ecl.* i, 118, serves as the title of two others.

In Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* there are a whole score of quotations. The phrase "semel insanivimus omnes," *Ecl.* i, 118, appears three times. The chapter on Symptoms of Love-Melancholy has eight quotations: *Ecl.* i, 38; i, 100; ii, 104-6; i, 14-18; ii, 107-8; i, 114-15; i, 47; i, 108. The chapter on Artificial Allurements of Love quotes three passages: *Ecl.* i, 104; i, 73; iv, 218. And the first of these is introduced as very familiar matter; "and *Galla's* sweet smile quite overcame *Faustus* the Shepherd:

me aspiciens motis blande subrisit ocellis."

The section on Beauty as a Cause of Love-Melancholy quotes, and translates, *Ecl.* i, 48-51, "ludit amor sensus," etc.:

Love mocks our senses, curbs our liberties,
And doth bewitch us with his art and rings,
I think some devil gets into our entrails,
And kindles coals, and heaves our souls from the hinges.

Other scattered quotations in the earlier part of Burton's work are, *Ecl.* i, 71; i, 174; i, 61; v, 46.

Indeed, some of Mantuan's phrases are repeated so often that they have earned a place in our dictionaries of Latin quotations. So, in particular, the "semel insanivimus omnes," of *Ecl.* i, 118, which has acquired a special interest from a passage in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*:

When I once talked to him of some of the sayings which every body repeats, but nobody knows where to find, . . . he told me that he was once offered ten guineas to point out from whence *Semel insanivimus omnes* was taken. He could not do it; but many years afterwards met with it by chance in 'Johannes Baptista Mantuanus.'¹

One or two other quotations may be added here, to illustrate the popularity of Mantuan's *Eclogues* in England.² He is

¹ London ed., 1890, iii, 266.

² The first nine were translated into English fourteeners by George Turberville, in 1567. And this translation was reprinted in 1572, 1594, and 1597. "The whole ten Eclogues did not find a translator till 1656, when Thomas Harvey pub-

mentioned in the prologue to the *Egloges* of Alexander Barclay (c. 1514)—named after Theocritus and Virgil—

As the moste famous Baptist Mantuan,
The best of that sort since Poetes first began.

His name appears again in ‘E. K.’s’ famous epistle to Gabriel Harvey (1579). He is mentioned in William Webbe’s *Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586): “Onely I will add two of later times, yet not farre inferiour to the most of them aforesayde, *Pallengenius* and *Bap. Mantuanus*.” And again (of pastoral poetry) Webbe says: “After *Virgill* in like sort writ *Titus Calphurnius* and *Baptista Mantuan*.” In George Puttenham’s *Arte of English Poesie* (1589), I, 18, we read: “These Eglogues came after to containe and enforme morall discipline, as be those of *Mantuan* and other modern Poets.” In Francis Meres’ *Sketch of English Literature* (1598) Mantuan is named among the “Neoterics” (Jovianus Pontanus, Politianus, Marullus Tarchionota, etc.) who “have obtained renown and good place among the ancient Latin poets.” And in the same sketch it is stated that “Theocritus in Greek, Virgil and Mantuan in Latin, Sannazar in Italian, . . . are the best for Pastoral.”

In Germany, Mantuan’s *Eclogues* are quoted as early as 1508, in Heinrich Bebel’s *Adagia Germanica*, No. 246: “Catti invalidi longius vivunt; dicitur in eos qui minus grati diu vivunt, dum optati saepe cito moriantur, nam :

si qua placent, abeunt: inimica tenacius haerent.”¹

This is *Ecl.* I, 174. And in the *Lamentationes novae Obscurorum Reuchlinistarum* (1518), No. 118, there is an echo of the dedicatory epistle: “Quid, obsecro, tanti facis philosophi in physicis *aenigmata*, quae *Oedipodes ipse non solveret?*”

In the *Pappa Puerorum* of Johannes Murrillius (1513) the sentence, “Vadam ad levandum ventrem post dumeta,” is probably due to *Ecl.* IV, 87. And two of his “protrita pro-

lished a version in decasyllabic couplets” (Walter W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, London, 1906, p. 78).

¹ Ed. Suringar, Leiden, 1879, p. 69.

verbia" are, "semel insanivimus omnes" (*Ecl.* I, 118), and "amor est amaror" (cf. *Ecl.* I, 52).¹

In the second *Eclogue* of Euricius Cordus there is a complimentary reference to Mantuan, and his first *Eclogue*:

omnes non unum facitis quotcumque poetam
qualem ego in Ausonius audivi finibus olim.

One of the singers professes to have seen him at Mantua during the year of jubilee:

hic nivei dominus pecoris prope flumina pastor
ad viridem recubans in opaco frigore clivum
sustulit argutos altum super aethera cantus,
quos non fagineae superent dulcedine glandes,
non mixtus butyro favus, et non molle colostrum.
Aeg. iam scio qui fuerit; quo, dic, indutus amictu?
Mop. quo pecus, hoc etiam fuit illi palla colore.
Aeg. Candidus est, gelida qui Faustum lusit in umbra,
ut retulit veteres Gallam quibus arserat ignes.
Mop. nunc age, dic, isto tibi quid de vate videtur?
Aeg. omnia consequitur magnas per ovilia laudes.²

There are eleven quotations in the *Iocoseria* of Otho Melander: *Ecl.* VI, 203-207; VI, 181-182; VI, 198-202; V, 136; II, 91-93; I, 48-51; I, 81-84; I, 114-116; II, 66-67; X, 193; II, 66-67 (again).³

Ecl. IV, 110 ff., is quoted, and refuted, in one of the epigrams which go under the name of *Crepundia Poetica* (ed. 1648, p. 54):

Cur mala femineo de sexu, Rustice, profers,
et bona quae confert non reticenda taces?
femineum est servile genus, crudele, superbum?
nobilis et clemens Virgo humilisque data est.
lege, modo, ratione caret, rectum abicit, inquis?
at placet huic rectum, lex, ratio atque modus.

¹ Ed. A. Bömer, Münster, 1894, pp. 16, 34. In his *Scoparius* (1517), Murrillius discusses the "patinam Aesopi" and the "clipeum Minervae" of *Ecl.* V, 98 (ed. Bömer, p. 50).

² Leipsic ed., 1518.

³ Frankfort ed., 1626, pp. 2, 14, 36, 133, 137, 161, 177, 423.

extremis ea gaudet, ais, mediocria vitat?
 haec extrema fugit, sed mediocre tenet.
decepit Iudaea virum prolemque Rebecca?
 concipit alma virum Virgo paritque Deum.
Eva genus nostrum felicibus expulit arvis?
 in meliora facit nos ut eamus AVE.
 cur bona femineo de sexu, Rustice, celas,
 et mala si qua facit non referenda refers?

In France,¹ *Ecl. IX*, 24–31, is quoted and discussed by Ravius Textor, *Epistolae*, 42, 43.² And the *Eclogues* and other poems of Mantuan are occasionally quoted in the same writer's *Officina* and *Epitome*.³

There are four quotations in the learned commentary which Benedictus Curtius composed on the *Arrêts d'amour* of Martial d'Auvergne:⁴ *Ecl. I*, 114–116; *vi*, 198–202; *III*, 83–87; *I*, 118 (“Et Baptista Mantuanus nos insanivisse omnes semel dicit: et ipsum cucullatum insanivisse eius opera ostendunt”).

Fontenelle was offended by the coarseness of *Ecl. IV*, 87: “on ne s'imaginerait jamais quelle précaution prend un autre berger avant que de s'embarquer dans un assez long discours.” And he had little sympathy with those who had compared Mantuan with Virgil: “quoique assurément il n'ait rien de commun avec lui que d'être de Mantoue.”⁵

Mantuan's *Eclogues* were very promptly imitated in England, in the five *Egloges* of Alexander Barclay (c. 1514)⁶ Barclay's fourth is a paraphrase of Mantuan's fifth; his fifth is a paraphrase of Mantuan's sixth, with the insertion of a long passage taken from Mantuan's seventh (9–56). And even in his other eclogues a part of the pastoral setting is

¹ The ten *Eclogues* were translated into French by Michel d'Amboise, Paris, 1530, and by Laurent de la Gravière, Lyons, 1558.

² London ed., 1683, pp. 35, 36.

³ Venice ed., 1566–1567, I, 23, 88; II, 126; III, 13, 15, 20, 22, 23, etc.

⁴ Paris ed., 1566, pp. 137, 574, 725, 728.

⁵ *Discours sur la nature de l'Églogue*.

⁶ Printed in *Publications of the Spenser Society*, No. 39 (1885).

borrowed from his Carmelite model.¹ The beginning of the first is due to the beginning of Mantuan's third (1-37), and the punning allusion to Bishop Alcock (p. 5) is adapted from Mantuan's allusion to Falcone de' Sinibaldi (ix, 213 ff.). The beginning of the second repeats a passage from Mantuan's second (1-16); the beginning of the fourth reminds one of Mantuan's ninth (117-119) and tenth (137-141, 182-186); and toward the close of the fifth (p. 45) there is a passage which comes from Mantuan's second (66-78).²

In Barclay's 'Prologue,' too, there is an interesting parallel to a passage in Mantuan's dedicatory epistle. This epistle, dated 1498, begins with a playful riddle:

Audi, o Pari, aenigma perplexum, quod Oedipodes ipse non solueret.
ego quinquagenarius et iam canescens adolescentiam meam reperi,
et habeo adolescentiam simul et senectam.

The explanation is, that in the previous year he had found a certain youthful composition of his own, consisting of eight eclogues and, "ab illa aetate," entitled *Adolescentia*. And now he sends it forth again, in revised and augmented form. But history repeats itself, and it was not long before Barclay could report a similar experience:

But here a wonder, I forte yere sauе twayne
Proceeded in age, founde my first youth agayne.
To finde youth in age is a probleme diffuse,
But nowe heare the truth, and then no longer cause.
As I late turned olde bookeſ to and fro,
One little treatise I founde among the mo :
Because that in youth I did compile the same,
Egloges of youth I did call it by name.

¹ For details, see O. Reissert, *Neuphilologische Beiträge*, Hannover, 1886, pp. 14-31; W. P. Mustard, *Modern Language Notes* (1909), xxiv, 8-9. One item which is taken bodily from Mantuan (vii, 42-54) is a "detailed notice of a mural painting in Ely Cathedral, which has long since disappeared"—a painting which struck one of Barclay's editors as "very curious," *Publications of the Percy Society*, xxii, 43. It is cited also in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (s.v. Alexander Barclay) as a proof that Barclay's *Egloges* were written at Ely.

² Not that Barclay translated "six of Mantuan's Eclogues," as Professor C. H. Herford says in his edition of *The Shepheards Calender* (p. xxxiv). The 'Prologue' carefully states that "fue Egloges this whole treatise doth holde."

And now he too has “made the same perfite”—

Adding and bating where I perceyued neede.¹

In 1563 we have eight English eclogues by Barnabe Googe. Here again the model is Mantuan, though there is very little verbal imitation or borrowing in detail.² The lines at the close of *Ecl. viii*,

and Phoebus now descends,
And in the Clowdes his beams doth hyde,
which tempest sure portends,

come from the close of Mantuan's third,

et sol se in nube recondens,
dum cadit, agricolis vicinos nuntiat imbræ.

And perhaps the ram whose battered condition symbolizes his owner's fortunes (*Ecl. iii*) should be compared with Mantuan's ram, *Ecl. ix*, 46-47:

hic aries, qui fronte lupos cornuque petebat,
nunc ove debilior pavidoque fugacior agno est.

Spenser's *Shepheards Calender* (1579) owes a large debt to Mantuan, especially in the eclogues for July, September, and October. This was pointed out by F. Kluge, *Anglia*, III, 266-274, and O. Reissert, ib. IX, 222-224; and it is now set forth in C. H. Herford's edition of the poem.³ Perhaps one

¹ It is interesting to notice that Professor ten Brink found in these lines the explanation of a peculiar quality of Barclay's *Egloges*, namely, their combination of the freshness of youth with the maturity of manhood: “So erklärt es sich, wenn diese Dichtungen in höherem Grade als andere Werke Barclay's jugendliche Frische mit männlicher Reife in sich vereinigen” (*Geschichte der englischen Literatur*, II, 455).

² “The pastoral came first into England in eclogue form, in Googe's translation of Mantuan's Latin imitations of Virgil,” F. E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, II, 139. But Googe's *Egloges* are not a translation of Mantuan in any sense; they are not even close imitations. Moreover, the *Egloges* of Alexander Barclay had been written about fifty years earlier.

³ Mantuan's seventh and eighth eclogues were not written “after he entered the monastic order,” as Professor Herford implies (p. xxxi). And none of his hill-sanctuaries, *Ecl. viii*, 51-55, is “pagan” (p. 143); “Laverna” (or La Verna), which puzzled the early commentator, is the site of a monastery founded by St. Francis of Assisi (Dante, *Par. xi*, 106).

further parallel should be suggested; compare 'October,' 100-101,

The vaunted verse a vacant head demaundes¹
Ne wont with crabbed care the Muses dwell,

with *Ecl. v*, 18-19,

laudabile carmen
omnem operam totumque caput, Silvane, requirit,

and *Ecl. v*, 90-91,

pannosos, macie affectos, farragine pastos
Aoniae fugiunt Musae, contemnit Apollo.

In Robert Greene's *Orpharion* (ed. Grosart, XII, 22) we have an unusual version of the story of Orpheus and Eurydice:

False harted wife to him that loued thee well,
To leaue thy loue and choose the Prince of hell,

and, again,

She slipt aside, backe to her latest loue.

His authority for this bit of mythology was probably Mantuan, *Ecl. iv*, 178-179:

potuit, si non male sana fuisset,
Eurydice revehi per quas descenderat umbras.

In 1595 we have three "pastorall eglogues" by Francis Sabie, entitled *Pan's Pipe*. The first of these is practically a cento made up from the first four eclogues of Mantuan.² And in the third, Damon's "dittie" of the "stately progeny of heardsmen" is a paraphrase of *Ecl. vii*, 9-39.³

In Milton's *Lycidas*, 128-129,

Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw
Daily devours apace, and nothing said,

¹ 'E. K.' says that line 100 "imitateth Mantuanes saying, 'vacuum curis divina cerebrum Poscit.'" But the 'saying' is hard to find; it is not in the Bologna edition of the collected poems, 1502, or in Ascensius' edition, Paris, 1513, or in the later poems published at Lyons in 1516.

² See *Modern Philology*, VII, 433-464, where Sabie's three *Eglogues* are reprinted, with some notes on his sources, by J. W. Bright and W. P. Mustard.

³ K. Windscheid, *Die englische Hirtendichtung von 1579-1625*, Halle, 1895, p. 41.

there seems to be an echo of *Ecl.* IX, 141–147,

mille lupi, totidem vulpes in vallibus istis
lustra tenent,
. factum vicinia ridet
nec scelus exhorret nec talibus obviat ausis ;

and the abrupt close of the poem,

To-morrow to fresh woods and pastures new,
reminds one of Mantuan's closing line, ix, 232,
Candide, coge pecus melioraque pascua quaere.

On *Paradise Lost*, vi, 871, "Nine days they fell," the commentators might perhaps quote *Ecl.* II, 112–114,

immo Satanum
pessimus ex illis quos noctibus atque diebus
ter tribus in terras fama est ex aethere lapsos —

as well as the description of the fall of the Titans in Hesiod.

The influence of Mantuan's *Eclogues* in sixteenth-century Germany would be an interesting subject, but that must be left to some one who has access to the necessary books. Some traces of it may be found in the Latin eclogues of Eobanus Hessus and Euricius Cordus.

Eobanus could claim to be a pioneer in the German field: "primi Latias in Teutona pascua Musas | ducimus," *Idyl* VIII, 2–3.¹ In his third *Idyl* (quoted above, p. 157) his shepherds discuss the respective merits of Virgil and Mantuan; and in his *Adnotationes* on the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* of Virgil he pays some attention to the later bucolic writers—among them "Petrarca, Pontanus, Baptista (Mantuanus)."² The beginning of his fifth *Idyl*,

Montibus his mecum quondam, Philereme, solebas
pascere, et alternis nostras concentibus aures
mulcere, etc.,

¹ Frankfort ed., 1564, p. 44.

² C. Krause, *Helius Eobanus Hessus*, Gotha, 1879, II, 26. In an unfortunate footnote, Krause explains that the Pontanus referred to is "Petrus Pontanus (aus Brügge)," and that "Baptista Mantuanus" means "Joh. Baptista Fiera."

reminds one of the beginning of Mantuan's fifth; and the close of his tenth,

tempestas oritur, pastu discedere tempūs,

is like the close of Mantuan's second or third. *Idyl* I, 72, “iam lectas omnis grex ruminat herbas,” and *Id.* vi, 19,

et pecus ilicea dum ruminat omne sub umbra,

may be compared with Mant. I, 1-2; *Id.* vii, 135,

quisquis amat iacet, et presso fert vincula collo,

with Mant. I, 114-116; *Id.* xi, 68, “non tibi cum puero certandum impubere,” etc., with Mant. x, 124; *Id.* xi, 73-74,

est aliquid magno barbam attractare prophetae;

dicere sed volui (lapsa est mihi lingua) ‘poetae,’

with Mant. x, 126-127. The “ventrosus bufo” of *Id.* v, 55, the “multiforem būxum” of *Id.* xi, 18, the “impatienter amantis” of *Id.* vii, 146, and the “somnōlenti” of *Id.* xii, 6, may be compared with Mant. x, 140; I, 163; vii, 65; iii, 59.

In Euricius Cordus¹ the imitation is still closer. The complimentary reference to Mantuan in his second *Eclogue* has been quoted above, p. 170. The historic dignity of the shepherd's calling, *Ecl.* iii, is set forth as in Mantuan's seventh, 23 ff.; and the contrast between the shepherd's lot and that of the farmer, in the middle of *Ecl.* iv, reminds one of the beginning of Mantuan's sixth. Compare, further, *Ecl.* i, 36, for the intransitive “secundat,” with Mant. v, 29; *Ecl.* ii, 82, “luxati . . . cultri,” with Mant. v, 140; *Ecl.* ii, 91, “nuda rigent genua,” etc., with Mant. v, 23; *Ecl.* ii, 118,

pollicitos plures vidi, qui multa dedissent
nulos,

with Mant. v, 105-106; *Ecl.* iii, 34,

dum satur in gelidis grex pabula ruminat umbris,

¹ He, too, has been called a pioneer: “fu lodato, è vero, per le ecloghe, ma codesti componimenti, ch' egli introduce per la prima volta in Germania, e imita da G. B. Mantovano, già per lui cadono in vuota pastorelleria,” G. Manacorda, *Della poesia latina in Germania durante il Renascimento*, Rome, 1906, p. 280.

with Mant. I, 1-2; *Ecl.* III, 115,

sum puer, at memini quo magnum tempore munus
esse putabatur, si textam flore corollam
quis daret, etc.,

with Mant. III, 85-86; *Ecl.* III, 148,

inter tot iuvenes quot festa luce sub ulmum
conveniunt, ducuntque leves de more choreas,

with Mant. II, 63-65; *Ecl.* IV, 33,

non sapies, nisi torva pedum tibi cornua frangat,

with Mant. IV, 91; *Ecl.* IV, 48,

in grandique mihi legisse volumine dixit,

with Mant. VII, 155; *Ecl.* IV, 64 (and V, 26), "quando vacat," with Mant. I, 9; *Ecl.* IV, 69, "desidiosa sumus pastores turba," with Mant. VI, 19-20; *Ecl.* VI, 68, "qui nostra piacula solvunt," with Mant. VIII, 162; *Ecl.* VI, 142,

interea in pluvia pastor sitit, esurit aura,

with Mant. V, 12; *Ecl.* VII, 32,

versaque dormit humus, missum requiescit aratrum,

with Mant. VI, 2-3; *Ecl.* VII, 71, "grata laborantum requies,"

with Mant. VIII, 150; *Ecl.* VIII, 64-65,

succede sub ulmum,

dum redeo; mihi quid post saepa parumper agendum est,

with Mant. IV, 87-88; *Ecl.* VIII, 102, "insecus et nihil hoc ratus," with Mant. IV, 54-55; *Ecl.* VIII, 109 (and IX, 65), "cariceam casulam," with Mant. IX, 18; *Ecl.* IX, 98,

me mea, te tua spes et opinio stulta fefellit,

with Mant. IX, 192; *Ecl.* X, 6,

sed melior lento praestat vigilantia somno,

with Mant. I, 5; *Ecl.* X, 22,

utile servitium fuit illius atque fidele,
donec, etc.,

with Mant. iv, 22; *Ecl.* x, 28,

et nentes inter medius sub nocte puellas,

with Mant. v, 85; *Ecl.* x, 123,

o quoties patriae moesti reminiscimur orae,

with Mant. ix, 90.¹

The famous diatribe against women, *Ecl.* iv, 110 ff., has a rather close parallel in one of the *Dialogues* of Ravisius Textor, *Troia, Salomon, Samson*.² And it is very clearly echoed in Larivey's comedy, *Le Fidelle*, III, 6.³ Compare with lines 124 ff.,

mobilis, inconstans, vaga, garrula, vana, bilinguis,
imperiosa, minax, indignabunda, cruenta, etc.,

Fortuné's speech :

elles sont de nature superbes, vaines, inconstantes, légères, malignes, cruelles, ravissantes, meschantes, envieuses, incredulles, trompeuses, ambitieuses, frauduleuses, desloyalles, ingratte, impetueuses, audacieuses et desreiglées (*infida, ingrata, maligna, impetuosa, audax*) ; faciles à faire place à la haine et à l'ire, dures à s'appaiser ; où elles vont, elles portent la rebellion et les débats (*litigiosa, rebellis*) ; elles sont coutumières à mal dire, à allumer des noises et querelles entre les amis (*accendit rixas*), et à semer infamie sur les bons ; sont promptes à reprendre les fautes d'autrui et negligentes à cognoistre leurs propres vices (*exprobrat, excusat tragica sua crimina voce*) ; etc., etc.

Larivey's *Le Fidelle* is said to be itself a translation of Luigi Pasqualigo's *Il Fedele* (Venice, 1579)⁴—which gives us one welcome instance of Mantuan's influence in his own country. There is probably another in Mario Equicola's *Libro de natura de amore*, which collects the opinions of vari-

¹ These passages of Euricius Cordus are quoted from the "secunda aeditio," Leipsic, 1518.

² "Apud Iacobum Stoer," 1609, pp. 192–202. A part of the *Dialogue* is quoted by J. Vodoz, *Le Théâtre Latin de Ravisius Textor*, Winterthur, 1898, pp. 149–151.

³ *Ancien Théâtre françois*, VI, 397.

⁴ Viollet le Duc, *Ancien Théâtre françois*, V, p. xx.

ous authors — Mantuan among them — on the subject of love.¹ But there must be many such echoes in the literature of Germany and France and Italy. One poem which will at least serve to illustrate the fourth *Eclogue* is Tasso's *Aminta*. The chorus at the close of the first act,

Ma sol perchè quel vano
 Nome senza soggetto,
 Quell' idolo d' errori, idol d' inganno ;
 Quel che dal volgo insano.
 Onor poscia fu detto
 (Che di nostra natura 'l feo tiranno),
 Non mischiava il suo affanno
 Fra le liete dolcezze
 Dell' amoroso gregge, etc.,

may be compared with *Ecl.* II, 161–166,

qui non communicat usum
 coniugis invidus est ; livorem excusat honestas
 introducta usu longi livoris iniquo.
 nam dum quisque sibi retinet sua gaudia, nec vult
 publica, communis mos ac longaevis honestas
 factus, et hunc morem fecit dementia legem ;

and the passage in II, 2,

Or, non sai tu com' è fatta la donna ?
 Fugge, e fuggendo vuol ch' altri la giunga ;
 Niega, e negando vuol ch' altri si toglia ;
 Pugna, e pugnando vuol ch' altri la vinca,

with *Ecl.* IV, 216–218,

currit, ut in latebras ludens perducat amantem,
 vult dare, sed cupiens simplex et honesta videri
 denegat et pugnat, sed vult super omnia vinci.

And with *Ecl.* II, 25,

commoditas omnis sua fert incommoda secum,

we may compare Guazzo's *Civil Conversatione*, Bk. I,² “anzi si ha da ricordare di quella sentenza : ‘Ogni agio porta seco

¹ F. Flamini, *Il Cinquecento*, p. 378.

² Venice ed., 1590, p. 12.

il suo disagio.'” The sentiment was doubtless a commonplace, but Mantuan may have helped to make it so.

Mantuan's chief model in his *Eclogues* was of course Virgil, and the influence of Virgil may be traced on almost every page. He has occasional phrases which seem to come from other Roman poets: Lucretius, Horace, Tibullus, Ovid, Lucan, Persius, Martial, Juvenal (especially in the fifth *Eclogue*), and possibly Calpurnius.¹ And he certainly knew the Latin eclogues of Petrarch and Boccaccio. *Ecl. I*, 12-13,

sedi iacuque supinus
cum gemitu et lacrimis mea tristia fata revolvens,

is an echo of Petr. vi, 78-79,

sedeo iaceoque supinus
multa canens quae dictat Amor, nec crastina curans.

Two bits of *Ecl. v* are borrowed from Petrarch's fourth; compare line 46,

sorte tua contentus abi, sine cetera nobis,

with Petr. iv, 68,

sorte tua contentus abi, citharamque relinque;

and line 136,

consilii locuples ego sum, pauperrimus auri,

with Petr. iv, 70,

posceris auxilium; tu consulis?

In *Ecl. III*, the complaint of Fortunatus (17-27) may be compared with Petr. *Ecl. ix*, 6-27,

rastra manu versans rigida scabrosque ligones
urget in arva boves sulcoque annixus inhaeret.
 postquam sudore exhaustus anhelo

¹ Cf. *Ecl. vi*, 157, “cum lac vociferans ibam venale per urbem,” with Calp. iv, 25, “et lac venale per urbem | non tacitus porta;” ix, 107, “cui sunt longa internodia crurum,” with Calp. i, 26, “tibi longa satis pater internodia,” etc.; ix, 133, “defende galero | lumina,” with Calp. i, 7, “defendimus ora galero.” Professor Mahaffy says that the works of Calpurnius and Nemesianus “were not unearthed till the year 1534” (*Rambles in Greece*, chap. XII, p. 354). But they were printed at Venice in 1472, and perhaps even earlier at Rome.

spes cernit florere suas iamque horrea laxat,
 ecce, fremens sata culta truci vertigine nimbus
 obruit, et longos anni brevis hora labores
 una necat, etc. ;

and the reply of Faustus (32-33), “ *scelus nobis haec omnia
 nostrum | ingerit*,” with Petr. ix, 81-82,

falleris, ah, demens ; nam iusta et sera merentes
 pastores ferit ira Dei populumque rebellem.

As for Boccaccio, his phrase “ *ruminat omne pecus*,”¹ *Ecl. vi*, 81, is repeated in Mantuan’s opening line, “ *pecus omne sub
 umbra | ruminat*.” And his fourteenth *Eclogue* seems to be
 reflected in several of Mantuan’s poems. Compare his de-
 scription of the Earthly Paradise, *xiv*, 170 ff.,

est in secessu pecori mons invius aegro,
 lumine perpetuo clarus, quo primus ab imis
 insurgit terris Phoebus, cui vertice summo
 silva sedet palmas tollens ad sidera celsas, etc.,

with Mant. viii, 45,

esse locum memorant, ubi surgit ab aequore Titan,
 qui, nisi dedidici, contingit vertice lunam ;

his reference to the Redeemer, *xiv*, 207,

inde salus venit nobis et vita renatis,

with Mant. iv, 184,

et noster Deus unde salus et vita resurgit ;

and his description of the heavenly choir, *xiv*, 213 ff.,

stat Satyrum longaeva cohors hinc undique supplex,
 omnis cana quidem, roseis ornata coronis,
 et citharis agni laudes et carmine cantat, etc.,

with Mant. vii, 137 ff.,

immortalis eris divum comes, ire per astra
 inter Hamadryades et Oreadas atque Napaeas
 flore coronatas caput et redolentibus herbis
 fas erit, etc.

¹ The phrase “ *ruminat omne pecus* ” occurs in the *Ecloga Theoduli*, 248.

And it may be worth noticing that his ninth *Eclogue* (like Mantuan's tenth) has a speaker named 'Batracos.'

Another Latin poet who should be mentioned here is Prudentius.¹ Compare *Ecl.* iv, 212,

nec formae contenta sua splendore decorem
auget mille modis mulier, etc.,

with Prud., *Ham.* 264-265,

nec enim contenta decore
ingenito externam mentitur femina formam;

and *Ecl.* vi, 199, "causidici latratores," with *Ham.* 401,

inde canina foro latrat facundia toto.

Ecl. viii, 162,

quando sacerdotes commissa piacula solvunt,

may be compared with Prud., *Apoth.* 543-544,

Christique negati
sanguine respersus commissa piacula solvit —

as well as with Virgil, *Aen.* vi, 569. And *Ecl.* ix, 126-127,

aliis vestigia filum
illaqueat, retinent alias lita vimina visco,

¹ In an apology for poetry prefixed to his first *Parthenice*, Mantuan cites several of the Ecclesiastical Writers: Prudentius, Paulinus of Nola, Ambrosius, Beda, and Juvencus. And of these his favorite would seem to be Paulinus: "quid de Paulino Nolanae urbis episcopo Hieronymo contemporaneo et familiari? nonne pulcherrima quae adhuc extant, et semper extabunt, excudit poemata? cum adhuc adolescentulus essem et a studiis ecclesiasticis more illius aetatis abhorrerem, forte in ea poemata incidi, et carminis suavitate delectatus animum ad res divinas paulatim appuli, et ex illo tempore sacrarum litterarum studiosior fui." Cf., also, what his brother Tolomeo reports of him: "dicebat autem poeta se de industria quaedam vocabula ecclesiastica suis inseruisse opusculis, sicut etiam res et historias sacras inseruit, ut pro virili portione satageret et conaretur religionem Christianam illustrare ac, quoad posset, celeberrimam reddere; maluisseque se hoc pacto minorem gratiam consequi apud homines gentilitatis studiosos et cum aliquo sua gloriae detrimento sanctorum patrum vestigia potius sequi quam de religione in qua salvamur male meritum videri" (*Apologia contra detrahentes operibus B.M.*, Lyons ed., 1516, fol. Gg, iii).

seems to be a reminiscence of Prud., *Cath.* III, 41-45,

callidus illaqueat volucres
aut pedicis dolus aut maculis,
illita glutine corticeo
vimina plumigeram seriem
impediunt et abire vetant.

And along with Prudentius we should mention the Latin Bible. *Ecl.* II, 138, "in foveam cecidit quam fecerat," repeats the figure of *Psa.* vii, 16, "incidit in foveam quam fecit"; and *Ecl.* III, 188, "patriae melioris," reminds one of *Heb.* xi, 16, "meliorum (patriam) appetunt, id est, caelestem." *Ecl.* V, 129,

inveniam qui me derideat et subsannet,

has its parallel in 2 *Par.* xxx, 10, "illis irridentibus et subsannantibus eos"; and the phrase "militiam caeli," *Ecl.* VIII, 222, may be compared with *Acts*, vii, 42, or *Deut.* xvii, 3. *Ecl.* VIII, 85-86,

sacram bisseno sidere frontem
cinxit et adiecit subter vestigia lunam,

is adapted from *Apocal.* xii, 1, "mulier amicta sole, et luna sub pedibus ejus, et in capite ejus corona stellarum duodecim."